JAN RYPKA
HISTORY OF IRANIAN LITERATURE




معراج حضرت رسالت صلی الله علیه

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tion on the faith and its mysteries, and also a wealth of material for the study of popular customs, superstitions, practices, etc. Such folklore yields valuable information, for instance the sections dealing with the calendar. One chapter of the *Andarz of Āturpāt, son of Mahraspand,* offers advice to fellow-believers as to what they should undertake or leave undone on each day of the month in order that everything may prosper to the satisfaction of mankind and the deity. We learn something about customs, amusements, relatives, duties, the relations to one's neighbour, etc. Reminiscent of Dante's *Divina Commedia* is the *Artāk Virāz* (formerly erroneously read as *Vīrāf-nāmak*), 'The Book of Artāk Virāz', with its theme of wanderings through the supernatural worlds of heaven, purgatory, and hell. The author, as is so often the case, was an unknown theologian who described in a fascinating, though at times monotonous manner, the dream-vision of the saint Artāk ('just', 'orthodox') Virāz, in order to show the faithful the consequences of their good and evil works in heaven, purgatory and hell. The priest Virāz is said to have been elected by a synod of Magians on account of his moral and religious integrity to act as messenger from mortals to the kingdoms above and below this world and to bring from thence the true doctrine of life and faith to the Mazdaistic church. That was a time of decadence, disbelief and uncertainty. Seated on the throne of the 'Seer', surrounded by Magi and the army, Virāz fell into a supernatural slumber after drinking a goblet of intoxicating *mang*. While he was asleep his soul wandered into the other world and was there a witness of the retributions and punishments for the dead. After seven days his soul returned. When he awoke Virāz sent for his scribe in order to dictate an account of his strange experiences. The Pahlavi text fixes the time of this legendary event broadly to the period of religious decline. The Pāzand version places it in the age of Vishtāsp shortly after the death of Zoroaster; the New Persian translation still later, namely during the reign of Artakhshēr Pāpakān. The writer pays most attention to the punishments of hell. A whole chapter is devoted to each of the sins, the introductions being written according to a stereotyped formula. The guides of the seer are *Srōsh*, an angel and messenger of the gods, who protects the community of believers at night, and *Ātur*, the angel of the sacred fire. They explain to him what this or that one of the condemned had done during his lifetime and why he was being punished in that way. The punishments themselves were carried out by demons, who tortured the condemned in horrible fashion. The scenes reflect the cruelty for which the Persians were notorious in their treatment of wrong-doers and criminals, to whom they applied the most outrageous methods of torture. For something similar has been described in the documents written in Syriac on the Persian Christian martyrs. The Mazdaists are generally known for their remarkable sense of justice. This is demonstrated by several episodes; for instance, the case of a man who held adulterous relations with the wife of a fellow-believer. Punishment was inflicted over the whole of his body excepting one foot, for with this foot he had crushed harmful animals on his way to the woman. Another sinner was also not punished on one foot because he had tossed a bundle of straw with

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2. THE EXISTENCE OF A MIDDLE PERSIAN POETRY

It was formerly the custom to doubt the very existence of Middle Persian poetry. Nowadays, however, we can furnish examples of it. It is not sufficient to regard Middle Persian literature as an organism incorporating Greek knowledge and elements of Indian culture. Even if at a first glance it may appear from the preserved fragments to consist exclusively of didactic prose, this cannot be the case, seeing that the literature of no nation is complete without poetry. Records have been handed down to us of the poetic oeuvre of Bahrām Gōr (420–38): ʿAufī states that there is an Arabic *dīvān* from his hand, al-Masʿūdī that he wrote numerous Arabic and Persian verses (according to tradition there are some rather dubitable Arabic verses and one single Persian verse which, in the form in which it has been handed down, is unmistakably forged). There are also references to a distich on the wall of the castle Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, dating from the time of Khusrau Parvēz (590–628), to the original form of the romance *Vāmiq u ʿAdhrā*, allegedly dedicated to the Shah Anōsharvān (531–79), and to *Vīs u Rāmīn*, another romance. These references are in themselves sufficient proof of the actual existence of Middle Persian poetry and render an enumeration of further evidence unnecessary. However distorted these pieces of information may be, they may nevertheless not be ignored, and even less rejected, at least if one considers them as an echo of an old tradition, which thus in its own manner intimated that there was in fact poetry in existence at that period. U. M. Daudpota[13] records an account by Abū-Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1004–5) of such a large quantity of poetry of the 'ancient Persians' that it could not even be collected in books. Simultaneously with the decline of the language, Persian poetry is said to have gradually disappeared, leaving behind nothing other than Arabic 'on their tongues'. In a number of Arabic sources and elsewhere special attention is drawn to Nigīsā, Sarkash and Bārbad, evidently names of prominent musicians, singers and also of poets[14] at the court of Khusrau Parvēz (590–628). On official feast-days *surūd-khvāns*, 'singers', sing songs or panegyrics (*surūd-i khusravānī*) in verse-form at the court of the Shāh. The Arabs learn singing and music from Persian men and women, although they do not understand the words. We even possess pieces of genuine Middle Persian poetry. For a number of years a series of eminent scholars has been engaged in the elucidation of the problem of Middle Persian prosody. We already know the main features of such prosody: syllabic principle (verses containing five, six, eight, eleven syllables as main types), quantity non-existent; according to the latest view of W. B. Henning the verses are accentuated and rhymed, though not unconditionally.[15] E. Benveniste[16] considers the metrics of the Avesta, of Middle Persian and of Persian folk-poetry to be closely related, in so far as the last-named is not influenced by scholarly prosody. H. S. Nyberg[17] already earlier pointed to a certain formal connection between Middle Persian and Persian poetry, while Chr. Rempis[18] has now rightly established that the Persian *mathnavī* and Persian strophic poetry originate in Middle Persian. E. Benveniste, and subsequently

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2. THE EXISTENCE OF A MIDDLE PERSIAN POETRY

It was formerly the custom to doubt the very existence of Middle Persian poetry. Nowadays, however, we can furnish examples of it. It is not sufficient to regard Middle Persian literature as an organism incorporating Greek knowledge and elements of Indian culture. Even if at a first glance it may appear from the preserved fragments to consist exclusively of didactic prose, this cannot be the case, seeing that the literature of no nation is complete without poetry. Records have been handed down to us of the poetic oeuvre of Bahrām Gōr (420–38): ʿAufī states that there is an Arabic *dīvān* from his hand, al-Masʿūdī that he wrote numerous Arabic and Persian verses (according to tradition there are some rather dubitable Arabic verses and one single Persian verse which, in the form in which it has been handed down, is unmistakably forged). There are also references to a distich on the wall of the castle Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, dating from the time of Khusrau Parvēz (590–628), to the original form of the romance *Vāmiq u ʿAdhrā*, allegedly dedicated to the Shah Anōsharvān (531–79), and to *Vīs u Rāmīn*, another romance. These references are in themselves sufficient proof of the actual existence of Middle Persian poetry and render an enumeration of further evidence unnecessary. However distorted these pieces of information may be, they may nevertheless not be ignored, and even less rejected, at least if one considers them as an echo of an old tradition, which thus in its own manner intimated that there was in fact poetry in existence at that period. U. M. Daudpota[13] records an account by Abū-Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1004–5) of such a large quantity of poetry of the 'ancient Persians' that it could not even be collected in books. Simultaneously with the decline of the language, Persian poetry is said to have gradually disappeared, leaving behind nothing other than Arabic 'on their tongues'. In a number of Arabic sources and elsewhere special attention is drawn to Nigīsā, Sarkash and Bārbad, evidently names of prominent musicians, singers and also of poets[14] at the court of Khusrau Parvēz (590–628). On official feast-days *surūd-khvāns*, 'singers', sing songs or panegyrics (*surūd-i khusravānī*) in verse-form at the court of the Shāh. The Arabs learn singing and music from Persian men and women, although they do not understand the words. We even possess pieces of genuine Middle Persian poetry. For a number of years a series of eminent scholars has been engaged in the elucidation of the problem of Middle Persian prosody. We already know the main features of such prosody: syllabic principle (verses containing five, six, eight, eleven syllables as main types), quantity non-existent; according to the latest view of W. B. Henning the verses are accentuated and rhymed, though not unconditionally.[15] E. Benveniste[16] considers the metrics of the Avesta, of Middle Persian and of Persian folk-poetry to be closely related, in so far as the last-named is not influenced by scholarly prosody. H. S. Nyberg[17] already earlier pointed to a certain formal connection between Middle Persian and Persian poetry, while Chr. Rempis[18] has now rightly established that the Persian *mathnavī* and Persian strophic poetry originate in Middle Persian. E. Benveniste, and subsequently

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the metrical insertions. This he did either by interpreting the Arabic texts or, in cases where the latter proved unsuitable, by replacing them by verses taken from the old masters, thereby even improving on the original texts.[58]

Abū-Naṣr Fatḥu'llāh-Khān Shaybānī distinguished himself from the average epigones of his time by the audacity with which he translated his experiences into poetry and by his criticism of a society that was in the course of disintegration. He was born into a military aristocratic family in Kāshān about 1246/1830. Curiously enough he later on regarded the excellent and cultured education he had been privileged to enjoy as the cause of his misfortunes. After the death of his father, a warrior who fought against the Turkomans, he took over the management of the properties he had inherited in Kāshān but lost the whole of his fortune as a result of the encroachments of the officials. He therefore betook himself to the court in order to claim compensation, but "justice in Persia was dormant" and he failed in his purpose, though not through lack of connections. Disappointment and worry then forced him to a decision to retire and write verse. The rest of his wealth he devoted to the founding of a monastery. In an adjacent garden he had a vault built for himself bearing an inscription that would constantly remind him that this was all that was left to him. Shaybānī professed the *taṣavvuf*. For a long time he wore the dervish's garb and was constantly in touch with the poor and the dervishes, as can be seen in a large number of his verses.[59] He spent some time in Istanbul, but there too he held himself apart from his fellow-men. He died in Tehran in 1308/1891. Throughout Shaybānī's work we find a harsh, pessimistic tone, whether he is complaining about his education and training, about the lack of faith in this world or whether he is fulminating against his profession as a poet, ostensibly one of the most vexatious that exist, for he considers it better to be as dumb as a beast since the great and the powerful have little esteem for poetry. He exposed the abuses and infringements of the law of an absolutism represented by the corruptible and dissipated officialdom and looked for reforms from the side of the Shāh. The latter, however, he considered should not be surrounded by babblers. In his panegyric poetry he reproached the Shāh of looking on passively at the unsatisfactory state of affairs. Elsewhere again he uttered a warning that the soldiers would revolt and turn against their own Sulṭāns if they remained without clothing and bread, and he censured the fact that actions were concealed and delayed under cover of fair words. To strike such an embittered note in a *qaṣīda* was hitherto unheard-of.[60] Shaybānī must be accorded the first place among those who anticipated the development of poetry both in form and substance. His best verses are devoid of affected preciosity; he simplified the language and subordinated it to the subject-matter. Two collections of his works may be found in the Bibliography. In addition to these he himself mentions *Fatḥ u ẓafar*, 'Conquest and Victory', and *Ganj-i gauhar*, 'Treasure-chamber of the Jewels', composed in honour of the Shāh's sons, but unfortunately without tangible result for the poet himself; his *Kāmrāniyya*, 'The Successful' (in honour of Kāmrān-Mīrzā) also remained no more than a title without reward.[61]

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24. Concerning Zauzanī see *GAL*, I, 288. Munzavī, 16–8. His *Kitābu'l-maṣādir* 'The Book of Infinitives', was edited by Taqī Bīnish (Mashhad 1340). Concerning Jurjānī's work see Munzavī, 171–4. Ed. by M. Dabīr Siyāqī (Tehran 1333).
25. See p. 429. *A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language. Facsimile text with Introduction and Indices* by Sir Gerard Clauson (London 1960). – J. Eckmann, 'Mirza Mehdi'nin "Senglâh" adlĭ Çagatayca sözlüğü', in *VIII. Türk Dil Kurultayĭnda okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler, 1957* (Ankara 1960), 37–40.
26. *GIPh*, II, 226, 343.
27. *GIPh*, II, 343. Ed. by Ahmed Ateş (İstanbul 1949). – A. Ateş, 'Dar ḥaqq-i matn-i Tarjumānu'l-balāgha', *Yaghmā*, 3 (1329), 67–9. A. Ateş, 'Dar ḥaqq-i matn-i Tarjumānu'l-balāgha', *Dānish*, I (1328), 582–4. A. Ateş, 'Muqaddima bar Tarjumānu'l-balāgha', *Dānish*, I (1328), 279–86. 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 'Tarjumānu'l-balāgha va kashf-i ma'khadh-i Vaṭvāṭ', *Āriyāna*, 8,2 (1328–9), 1–14; 8,3, 1–11.
28. *GIPh*, II, 225. Ed. by 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1308), and (with the *dīvān*) by Sa'īd Nafīsī (Tehran 1339). *Nāmahā-i Rashīdu'd-dīn Vaṭvāṭ*, ed. Qāsim Tuysarkānī (Tehran 1338). – 'Abbās Iqbāl, 'Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Rashīd-i Vaṭvāṭ', *Armaghān*, 11 (1308), 398–400, 453–62, 518–26, 600–8, 690–703, 724–5, 820–33. 'Abbās Iqbāl, 'Abkaru'l-afkār-i Rashīdu'd-dīn-i Vaṭvāṭ', *Yādgār*, 4-1/2 (1326–7), 43–54. 'Yak risāla dar 'arūḍ ta'līf-i Rashīdu'd-dīn-i Vaṭvāṭ', ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Yādgār*, 1,10 (1323–4), 67–71.
29. *GIPh*, II, 343. Ed. by Sayyid N. Kāẓim Imām (Tehran 1341).
30. *CPL*, 242–4, 455. Ed. by M. Qazvīnī and M. Taqī Mudarris Raḍavī (Tehran, 4th ed., 1342).
31. *GIPh*, II, 344–5. Lith. (Tehran 1325; Lucknow 1927).
32. Lagarde, 62. Salemann, 417–505. *LHP*, 358–9. *EI, s.v.* 'Fakhrī'. Ṣādiq Kiyā, 'Mi'yār-i Jamālī', *Lughat-nāma*, 40 (*Muqaddima*) (1337), 189–95. *Vazha-nāma-i fārsī. Bakhsh-i chahārum-i Mi'yār-i Jamālī.* Ed. Ṣādiq Kiyā (Tehran 1337).
33. *GIPh*, II, 344. Vakhīd Tabrīzī. *Dzham'-i mukhtaṣar. Traktat o poetike. Kriticheskiy tekst, perevod i primechaniya A. B. Bertel'sa* (Moscow 1959).
34. *GIPh*, II, 344–5. 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, *Jāmī* (Tehran 1320), 162, 166–8.
35. *EI, s.v.* 'Saifī'. Rieu, 525–6.
36. *GIPh*, II, 344. See p. 426.
37. 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, *Jāmī*, 166–8.
38. *GIPh*, II, 345.
39. *PL*, I, 253.
40. *PL*, Nr. 339 (1). Ṣafā, II, 969–72. M. Qazvīnī, ''Atabatu'l-kataba', *Bīst maqāla*, 2 (1313), 156–66. M. Qazvīnī, 'Majmū'a-i Munsha'āt-i Muntajabu'd-dīn Badī' Atābak Juvaynī dabīr-i sulṭān Sanjar mausūm ba 'Atabatu'l-kataba', *Yādnāma-i dīnshāh-i īrānī*, 1943, 1–16.
41. *PL*, I, Nr. 339 (2).
42. Ed. by 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1333). – 'Abbās Iqbāl, 'Majmū'a-i makātīb-i fārsī-i Ghazzālī', *MDAT*, 1,2 (1332), 1–11.
43. *SSH*, III, 163.
44. *HPL*, III, 80–7. Browne Cat. 146–7. *PL*, I, 1230. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī, 'Maktūb(-i Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlu'llāh bā muqaddimaī dar aḥvāl-i ū)', *Armaghān*, 6 (1303–4), 241–53. 'Maktūb-i ta'rīkhī(-i Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlu'llāh)', *ibid.*, 518–22. 'Makātīb-i tā'rīkhī (ba-qalam-i Khvāja Rashīdu'd-dīn)', *ibid.*, 7 (1304–6), 125–41. 'Makātīb-i ta'rīkhī (-i Khvāja Rashīdu'd-dīn ki ba-farzand-i khvud nigāshta ast)', *ibid.*, 9 (1307), 159–64. 'Maktūb-i ta'rīkhī (Ruq'a ki Khvāja Rashīdu'd-dīn ba-Mavlānā-i Rūm nivishta būdand)', *ibid.*, 22 (1320), 230–1. Mahdī Bayānī, 'Rasā'il-i fārsī-i Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlu'llāh', *Mihr*, 8 (1321–2), 549–52. 'Abbās Iqbāl, 'Maktūb-i Khvāja Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlu'llāh ba-Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad Turka', *Yādgār*, 1,4 (1323–4), 6–8.
45. *GIPh*, II, 243, 338. Pertsch, Nr. 1055.
46. See p. 430. Flügel, Nr. 244. *Kriticheskiy tekst, predislovie i ukazateli A. A. Ali-zade*, vol. I (Moscow 1964).
47. Browne Cat., 107–9. Pertsch, Nr. 1059.

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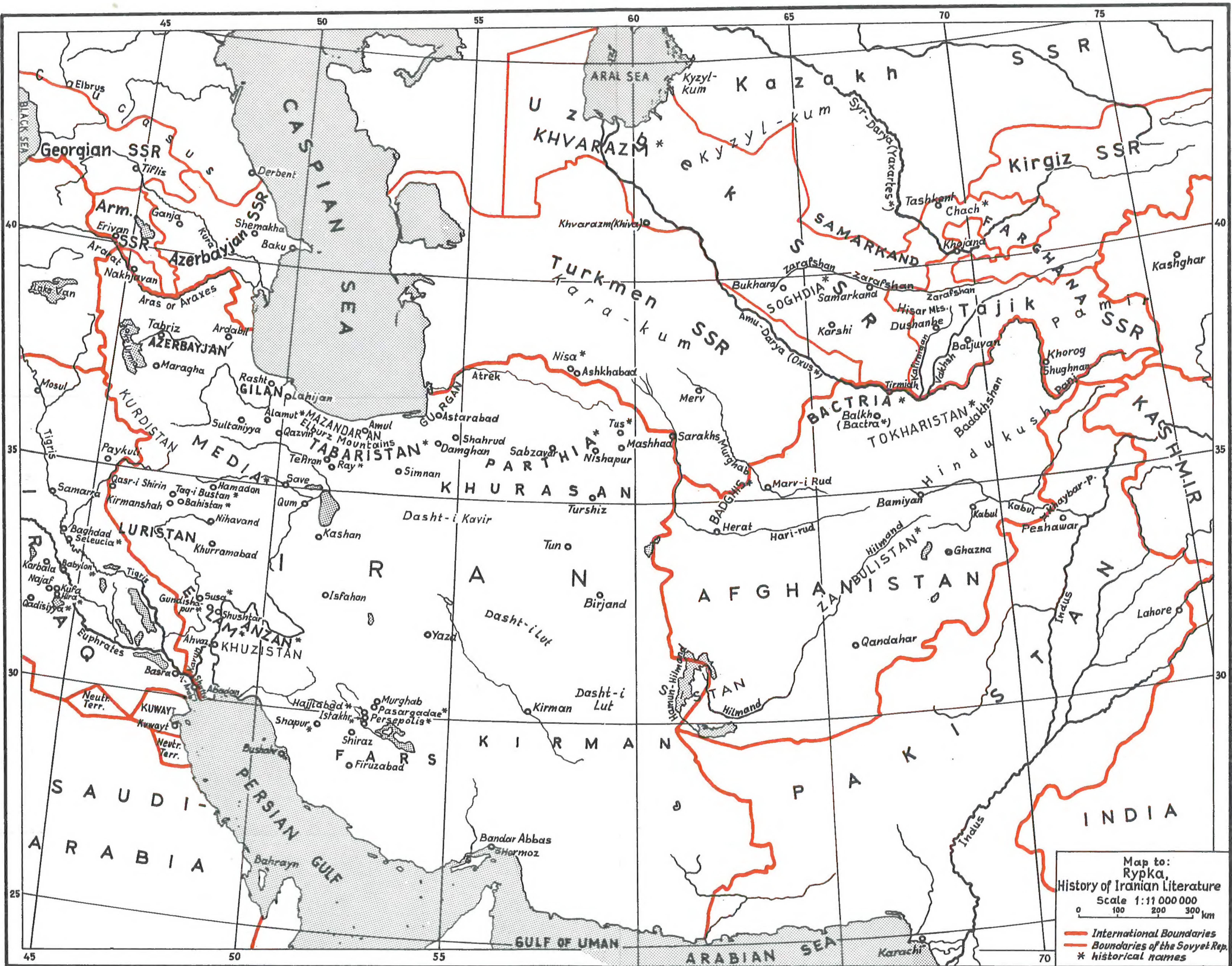
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Map to:
Rypka,
History of Iranian Literature
Scale 1:11 000 000
0 100 200 300 km
International Boundaries
Boundaries of the Sovyet Rep.
* historical names
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
40
35
30
25
C a u c a s u s
Elbrus
BLACK SEA
Georgian SSR
Tiflis
Derbent
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
Kyzyl-kum
K a z a k h S S R
U z b e k S S R
KHVARAZM *
Kyzyl-kum
Syr-Darya (Yaxartes*)
Kirgiz SSR
Tashkent
Chach *
FARGHANA *
SAMARKAND
Khojand
Kashghar
Arm. SSR
Ganja
Kura
Shemakha
Azerbayjan SSR
Baku
Erivan
Ararat
Nakhjavan
Khvarazm (Khiva)
Turkmen SSR
Kara-kum
Zarafshan
Bukhara
SOGHDIA *
Samarkand
Hisar Mts.
Dushanbe
Tajik SSR
Pamir
Lake Van
Aras or Araxes
Tabriz
Ardabil
AZERBAYJAN
Maragha
Amu-Darya (Oxus*)
Karshi
Baljuvan
Khorog
Shughnan
Panj
Kafirnigan
Vakhsh
Tirmidh
Nisa *
Ashkhabad
Atrek
Mosul
Rasht
GILAN
Lahijan
GURGAN
Astarabad
Merv
BACTRIA *
Balkh (Bactra*)
TOKHARISTAN *
Badakhshan
KASHMIR
KURDISTAN
Alamut *
MAZANDARAN
Amul
Sultaniyya
Qazvin
Elburz Mountains
TABARISTAN *
Shahrud
Damghan
Tus *
Mashhad
Sarakhs
Murghab
Tigris
Paykuli
MEDIA *
Tehran
Ray *
Simnan
Sabzavar
PARTHIA *
Nishapur
Hindukush
Save
Qasr-i Shirin
Hamadan
Taq-i Bustan *
Bahistan *
Kirmanshah
Samarra
Qum
K H U R A S A N
Turshiz
BADGHIS *
Marv-i Rud
Bamiyan
Kabul
Khaybar-p.
Peshawar
Dasht-i Kavir
Baghdad
Seleucia *
LURISTAN
Nihavand
Khurramabad
Kashan
Herat
Hari-rud
Tun
Hilmand
ZABULISTAN *
Ghazna
I R A N
Karbala
Babylon
Najaf
Kufa
Hira *
Qadisiyya *
Tigris
Gundishapur *
Susa *
Shushtar
ELAM *
ANZAN *
Ahvaz
KHUZISTAN
Karun
Isfahan
Dasht-i Lut
Birjand
AFGHANISTAN
Indus
Lahore
I R A Q
Euphrates
Yazd
Qandahar
Basra
Abadan
Shatt
Neutr. Terr.
KUWAYT
Kuwayt
Hajiabad *
Istakhr *
Murghab
Pasargadae *
Persepolis *
Shapur *
Shiraz
Kirman
Dasht-i Lut
Hamun-i-Hilmand
SISTAN
Hilmand
Neutr. Terr.
Bushahr
FARS
Firuzabad
K I R M A N
P A K I S T A N
S A U D I - A R A B I A
PERSIAN GULF
INDIA
Indus
Bahrayn
Bandar Abbas
Hormoz
GULF OF UMAN
ARABIAN SEA
Karachi